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SUBJ: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY- QUARTERLY ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF RECENT MONTHS
IN PAKISTAN HAS BEEN THE APRIL 9 INDO-PAK-BANGLADESH AGREE-
MENT AND THE SUBSEQUENT RETURN OF THE LAST PAK POWS FROM
INDIA. THE WAY IS NOW OPEN FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD
NORMALIZATION OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH CONTINUING
SUSPICIONS OF EACH OTHER SUGGEST THAT THE PACE IS LIKELY
TO BE SLOW. THE GOP HAS PUBLICLY STRESSED ITS DESIRE TO
ESTABLISH CORDIAL TIES WITH BANGLADESH (CLEARLY HOPING TO
DISCOMFIT INDIA IN THE PROCESS), BUT HAS SO FAR BEEN SHORT
ON CONCRETE ACTION. RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN REMAIN
ON DEAD CENTER, ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN AN EASING OF
TENSIONS RECENTLY. STRAINS HAVE DEVELOPED IN RELATIONS
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WITH IRAN OVER THE LAHORE ISLAMIC SUMMIT AND BHUTTO'S
SOLICITUDE FOR LIBYAN PRESIDENT QADHAFI, WHICH BHUTTO
ATTEMPTED TO EASE BY HIS HASTY MARCH VISIT TO THERAN.
THE GOP IS ACTIVELY SEEKING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID

FUNDS AND INVESTMENT FROM ITS OIL-RICH FELLOW MUSLIMS. BHUTTO'S TRIP TO CHINA IN MAY DEMONSTRATED THE CONTINUING CLOSE POLITICAL TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME DOUBTS THAT THE GOP AID OBJECTIVES WERE FULFILLED. BHUTTO'S SCHEDULED VISIT TO MOSCOW IN JUNE MAY CLARIFY AND PERHAPS IMPROVE THE PRESENT CORRECT BUT ESSENTIALLY COOL PAK-SOVIET RELATIONS. PAKISTAN HAS CONTINUED TO SEEK A LEADING VOICE IN THE THIRD WORLD, BOTH AT THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION AND IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. RELATIONS WITH THE US HAVE REMAINED CORDIAL ALTHOUGH IMPATIENCE OVER THE US ARMS SUPPLY POLICY IS GROWING. END SUMMARY

1. INDIA: THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT OF RECENT MONTHS IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS BEEN THE TRIPARTITE INDO-PAK-BANGLADESH AGREEMENT OF APRIL 9 AND THE SUBSEQUENT RETURN OF THE LAST PAK POWS FROM INDIA, INCLUDING THE 195 ORIGINALLY WANTED BY BANGLADESH FOR WAR CRIMES TRIALS. FOR THE GOP, THIS HAS BROUGHT TO A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION THE LAST OF THE REALLY URGENT PROBLEMS LEFT OVER FROM THE 1971 WAR. ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT OPENS THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATION OF THE NEXT SERIES OF MEASURES AIMED TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN-- COMMUNICATIONS, TRAVEL, TRADE AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS-- AND BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE ALREADY IN TOUCH ON THE TIMING OF THE NEXT MEETING.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE HAVE BEEN AMPLE REMINDERS THAT THE MILLENNIUM IN INDO-PAK AFFAIRS HAS NOT YET ARRIVED. BHUTTO AND MINISTRE AZIZ AHMED HAVE HAILED THE APRIL 9 AGREEMENT AS A MAJOR MOVE TOWARD A DURABLE PEACE WITH INDIA, BUT THE CONTINUING DRUMFIRE OF ANTI-INDIA COMMENT IN THE MEDIA REFLECTS THE STRONG EMOTIONAL SUSPICION OF INDIA STILL PREVALENT HERE. EVEN THE TOP GOP LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH FULLY COMMITTED TO REACHING AN ACCOMMODATION WITH INDIA, DISPLAYS ITS EXASPERATION OVER WHAT IT SEES AS INDIA'S PERSISTENT CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT PAKI-CONFIDENTIAL

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STAN FROM OBTAINING ITS MINIMUM MILITARY SUPPLY REQUIREMENTS BY WHEELING OR COERCING POTENTIAL THIRD-COUNTRY SUPPLIERS.

3. THE IMMEDIATE PROGNOSIS IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS APPEARS TO BE MORE OF THE SAME: CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AND A WARY ACCOMMODATION, BUT AT A PACE SLOWED BY CONTINUING MUTUAL SUSPICION. THERE WILL, HOWEVER, BE A NEW ELEMENT IN THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS; FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE 1971 WAR, PAKISTAN WILL BE ENTERING INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT THE DISADVANTAGE OF NEEDING SOMETHING BADLY (TROOP WITHDRAWALS, POW RETURN) THAT ONLY THE OTHER SIDE CAN PROVIDE.

4. BANGLADESH: PAKISTAN HAS FOLLOWED UP ON RECOGNITION OF THE BDG DURING THE LAHORE SUMMIT WITH A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF CORDIALITY TOWARD BANGLADESH--ALTHOUGH THE EMPHASIS SO FAR HAS BEEN MORE ON FORM THAN ON SUBSTANCE. IN APRIL THE PAK CONSTITUTION WAS QUIETLY AMENDED TO DELETE THE REFERENCE TO "EAST PAKISTAN" WHICH THE BDG FOUND OFFENSIVE, AND THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUING MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO PORTRAY THE BENGALLEES AS LOOKING WITH EVER INCREASING FRIENDLINESS TOWARD PAKISTAN WHILE THEIR DISENCHANTMENT WITH INDIA GROWS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOP SEEMS TO BE DISPLAYING LITTLE URGENCY IN MOVING TOWARD ESTABLISHING FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH DACCA, AND THE PAKS HAVE RECENTLY EXPRESSED SOME PRIVATE IMPATIENCE OVER WHAT THEY SEE AS THE BDG'S UNDUE HASTE TO PRESS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON ITS UN MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION.

5. IF THE GOP HAS A CHOICE, IT WILL APPARENTLY MOVE AHEAD MORE RAPIDLY TOWARD ACCOMMODATION WITH BANGLADESH THAN WITH INDIA, WITH THE VIRTUALLY UNCONCEALED OBJECTIVE OF CAPITALIZING ON WHAT THE PAKS SEE AS INCREASING BANGLADESH COOLNESS TOWARD INDIA. LURKING IN THE BACKGROUND, HOWEVER, IS AN ISSUE WHICH MAY WELL PROVE A SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLE TO PAK-BANGLADESH DETENTE: THE DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES FROM PRE-1971 PAKISTAN. WE WOULD EXPECT DACCA TO PRESS THIS ISSUE FIRMLY, AND WE UNDERSTAND THE GOP IS READY TO COUNTER WITH A CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLETE SET OF FIGURES DEMONSTRATING THAT BANGLADESH ACTUALLY OWES PAKISTAN A SUBSTANTIAL SUM.

6. AFGHANISTAN: PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN REMAIN ON DEAD CENTER? ALTHOUGH THE TENSIONS OF LATE 1973 HAVE EASED SOMEWHAT. BHUTTO, DURING AN EARLY MAY VISIT TO THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, WAS VISIBLY CONCILIATORY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN, PUBLICLY COMMENTING ON THE COMMON TRADITIONS SHARED BY THE TWO COUNTRIES AND WISHING THE GOA WELL IN ITS CONSTITUTION-MAKING. LEST KABUL DRAW ANY INCORRECT INFERENCES FROM HIS BENIGN REMARKS, HOWEVER, INTERIOR MINISTER QAYYUM KAHN HAS MORE RECENTLY BEEN WAVING THE FLAG AND SHARPLY CRITICIZING AFGHANISTAN IN A SERIES OF STATEMENTS IN BALUCHISTAN AND SIND. THE GOP IN GENERAL APPEARS CONTENT FOR THE PRESENT TO LEAVE THE INITIATIVE TO DAOUD, PREPARING TO RESPOND SHARPLY IF HE ESCALATES THE LEVEL OF HIS PUSHTUNISTAN ACTIVITIES BUT WILLING TO MORE THE DISPUTE TO THE BACK BURNER IF HE WILL PERMIT IT. ANY EARLY MOVES TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS SEEM OUT OF THE QUESTION, HOWEVER, SINCE AS ONE MFA OFFICIAL ASKED "WHAT CAN WE POSSIBLY NEGOTIATE?"

7. IRAN: WHILE FRIENDSHIP WITH IRAN HAS BEEN A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF BHUTTO'S FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE BEGINNING, THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE SEEN SOME DISTINCT STRAINS DEVELOP IN THE RELATIONSHIP. NEVER ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT BHUTTO'S PRIZED ISLAMIC SUMMIT PROJECT, THE SHAH APPARENTLY WAS FURTHER ANNOYED BY LIBYAN PRESIDENT QADHAFI'S WIDELY-PUBLICIZED POST-SUMMIT STATE VISIT TO PAKISTAN AND BY BHUTTO'S OBVIOUS SOLICITUDE FOR HIS RICH LIBYAN FRIEND. A SUBSIDIARY ELEMENT IN THE SHAH'S SEEMING COOLNESS TOWARD THE GOP MAY BE PAKISTAN'S AS YET MODEST FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF (WHERE, FOR EXAMPLE, A PAKISTAN AIR FORCE OFFICER RECENTLY REPLACED ANOTHER PAF OFFICER AS COMMANDER OF THE ABU DHABI AIR FORCE).

8. BHUTTO'S HASTY VISIT TO IRAN AT THE END OF MARCH REPORTEDLY WAS LARGELY AN EFFORT TO MOLLIFY THE SHAH AND ASSURE HIM THAT BHUTTO STILL HELD HIM IN HIGHEST REGARD. BY THAT TIME, HOWEVER, THE PAKS HAD A GRIEVANCE OF THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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OWN IN THE STRIKING IMPROVEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT MONTHS IN IRAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, CLIMAXED BY PRINCE GANDHI'S RECENT VISIT TO TEHRAN.

9. ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY CONCERNED WITH THE MOST RECENT TURN OF EVENTS IN IRAN, THE GOP PUBLICLY HAS MAINTAINED A BRAVE FACE AND HAS PERMITTED ONLY THE MOST VEILED CRITICISM OF IRAN'S RAPPROCHEMENT WITH INDIA. THE PAKS, IN FACT, HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO LIVE WITH THE SITUATION, SINCE THEY ARE AWARE OF THEIR NEED FOR THE SHAH'S FRIENDSHIP AND PAINFULLY CONSCIOUS OF HIS NEW FINANCIAL CLOUT.

10. MUSLIM COUNTRIES: FARTHER AFIELD IN PAKISTAN HAS RECENTLY BEEN MAKING EFFORTS TO CAPITALIZE ON THE CONTACTS AND THE GENERAL EUPHORIA GENERATED BY THE LAHORE SUMMIT TO SEEK ECONOMIC COOPERATION, FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND, REPORTEDLY, HELP IN MEETING THE COST OF RE-EQUIPPING THE PAK ARMED FORCES FROM OIL-RICH NEIGHBORS AND FELLOW MUSLIMS. THIS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE OBJECT OF MINISTRE AZIZ AHMED'S RECENT SWING THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE UAE TO SAUDI ARABIA AND LIBYA, ATTENDING A SERIES OF JOINT MINISTERIAL MEETINGS WITH HIS HOSTS. EVEN EARLIER, BHUTTO HIMSELF PUBLICLY CONFIRMED THE GOP'S QUEST FOR FUNDS TO ESTABLISH ARMS PRODUCTION FACILITIES IN PAKISTAN IN A SPEECH IN WHICH HE POINTEDLY URGED PAKISTAN'S "WEALTHY, FRIENDLY, NEIGHBORLY COUNTRIES" TO STEP FORWARD. AT THE MOMENT, IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER PAKISTAN'S EFFORTS IN THIS AREA WILL BEAR FRUIT.

11. CHINA: THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN

PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE MAJOR POWERS IN RECENT MONTHS. TIES WITH CHINA, WHOM THE PAKS CONTINUE TO PROCLAIM AS THEIR CLOSEST FRIEND OF ALL, WERE APPARENTLY FURTHER CEMENTED BY BHUTTO'S MAY 11-14 STATE VISIT TO PEKING. FROM HERE, THE VISIT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN DEMONSTRATING THAT PEKING STILL HOLDS PAKISTAN POLITICALLY IN HIGH REGARD. HOWEVER, THE COMPOSITION OF BHUTTO'S PARTY, WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC AND MILITARY EXPERTS, INDICATED THAT BHUTTO'S CONFIDENTIAL

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OBJECTIVE IN GOING TO PEKING EXTENDED WELL BEYOND THE POLITICAL AND CEREMONIAL. WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT HIS GOALS WERE REALIZED IN THESE CRUCIAL AREAS ARE NOT YET KNOWN, ALTHOUGH THERE IS A HINT OF VEILED DISAPPOINTMENT ON THE PAKISTANI SIDE.

12. SOVIET UNION: PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAVE CONTINUED TO BE MARKED BY PUBLIC PROTESTATIONS OF SATISFACTION AND DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY TIES ACCOMPANIED BY PRIVATE EXPRESSIONS TO US (AND PRESUMABLY CHINESE) OFFICIALS OF DEEP CONCERN OVER SOVIET INTENTIONS IN THE AREA. A REDEFINING OF PAK-SOVIET RELATIONS IS IN THE OFFING, HOWEVER, AS THE GOP HAS ANNOUNCED THAT BHUTTO WILL BE VISITING MOSCOW IN JUNE.

13. THIRD WORLD: PAKISTAN'S AMBITION TO BECOME A LEADING SPOKESMAN AMONG THE THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES WAS GIVEN A BOOST AT THE SPECIAL UNGA SESSION IN APRIL, WHERE PAKISTAN'S DELEGATION WAS APPARENTLY AMONG THE MORE ACTIVE IN PRESSING THIRD-WORLD VIEWPOINTS AND NEGOTIATING THE LANGUAGE OF RESOLUTIONS. A STATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT NE WIN OF BURMA AND VISITS BY SEVERAL AFRICAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OR SENIOR MINISTERS (WHO IN MOST CASES WERE PICKED UP AS STATE GUESTS WHILE TRANSITING PAKISTAN EN ROUTE TO AND FROM PEKING) WERE ALSO USED TO DEMONSTRATE THE GOP'S GROWING INTEREST IN THIS AREA, AS WERE SUCH PAK INITIATIVES AS APPOINTING RESIDENT AMBASSADORS TO ZAIRE AND MEXICO. PAKISTAN'S PURSUIT OF IMPROVED THIRD-WORLD CREDENTIALS BY DEMONSTRATING THE DISTANCE BETWEEN IT AND THE WEST WAS PRESUMABLY ALSO A FACTOR IN THE WELL-PUBLICIZED STATE VISIT OF NORTH KOREAN VICE PRESIDENT KANG YANG-UK IN LATE MARCH, A VISIT THE GOI PRIVATELY CHARACTERIZED AS "ENTIRELY CEREMONIAL" BUT WHICH SERVED AS ANOTHER REMINDER OF HOW FAR PAKISTAN HAS MOVED TOWARD ACCOMMODATION WITH CHINA'S FRIENDS EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF DIVERGENCE WITH THE US.

14. UNITED STATES: THERE HAVE BEEN NO STRAINS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS IN PAKISTAN'S FRIENDLY, GENERALLY

COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THE US. THE FOCUS RECENTLY
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HAS TENDED TO BE LARGELY ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, AS THE
GOP OBSERVES THE PROGRESS OF THE \$50 MILLION FLOOD
RELIEF PACKAGE THROUGH THE US LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND
SEEKS US SUPPORT FOR IMPROVED DEBT RESCHEDULING TERMS.
THERE HAVE BEEN REMINDERS, HOWEVER, OF CONTINUING PAK
DISSATISFACTION IN THE ONE AREA HE GOP INCREASINGLY
TENDS TO HOLD UP AS A TEST CASE OF OVERALL US INTENTIONS:
MILITARY SUPPLY. PRIMIN BHUTTO MADE THIS CLEAR IN HIS
AP

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A UPI CORRESPONDENT, IN WHICH HE
STRESSED ONCE AGAIN US "OBLIGATIONS" TOWARD PAKISTAN IN
THE SECURITY FIELD AND LAMENTED US REFUSAL TO PROVIDE
MILITARY AID. BHUTTO AND THE GOP LEADERSHIP HAVE INDI-
CATED PRIVATELY THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE US DOMESTIC
FACTORS MILITATING AGAINST AN EARLY CHANGE IN THE US
ARMS SUPPLY POLICY, BUT THEIR GROWING IMPATIENCE WITH
THIS POLICY IS NONETHELESS REAL DESPITE THEIR AWARENESS.
THIS ISSUE REMAINS THE ONE VISIBLE CLOUD IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

15. PROGNOSIS: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, THERE IS NOTHING
IN SIGHT AT THIS TIME TO SUGGEST A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN
DIRECTION OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY OVER THE NEXT FEW
,9,5# . THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT WILL PROBABLY BE
THE NEXT STAGE IN INDO-PAK-BANGLADESH NEGOTIATIONS,
ALTHOUGH DRAMATIC PROGRESS IN THIS AREA SEEMS MOST UNLIKELY.
A GOOD DEAL OF ATTENTION, AT LEAST IN THE SUBCONTINENT, WILL
ALSO BE ATTRACTED BY PRIMIN BHUTTO'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO
MOSCOW, WHICH SHOULD RESULT IN A CLARIFICATION AND PERHAPS
SOME IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-PAK RELATIONS ALTHOUGH WE DOUBT
THAT ANYTHING SPECTACULAR WILL EMERGE. AS FAR AS THE US
IS CONCERNED, THE MAIN SUBJECTS FOR BILATERAL CONSIDERATION
OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO BE
ECONOMIC AID, DEBT RESCHEDULING AND THE ARMS POLICY, ALONG
WITH THE PERENNIAL TOPIC OF NARCOTICS CONTROL.
BYROADERU

UNQUOTE RUSH

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